

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L DACCA 1780

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11562: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BG

SUBJ: AWAMI LEAGUE CRACKS BEGINNING TO SHOW

REF: DACCA 1406

1. THE PATCH UP OPERATION WHICH KEPT THE AWAMI LEAGUE FORMALLY TOGETHER FOLLOWING THE MARCH 3-5 COUNCIL SESSION (REFTEL) IS BEGINNING TO SHOW SIGNS OF STRESS. THE PRINCIPAL CONTENDERS ARE PRESIDENT ABDUL MALIK UKIL (BEHIND WHOM STANDS THE DISGRUNTLED MIZANUR ICAHMAN CHOUDHURY) ON THE ONE HAND AND SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT ZOHRA TAJUDDIN AHMAD AND GENERAL SECRETARY ABDUR RAZZAK ON THE OTHER

2. ONE PUBLIC MANIFESTATION OF THE CONFLICT HAS BEEN THE ISSUANCE OF SEPARATE LISTS OF MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE BY THE TWO GROUPS. UKIL ISSUED A LIST OF 27 ON MARCH 21. RAZZAK, CITING ZOHRA'S AGREEMENT, COUNTERED

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WITH A LIST OF 63 ON MARCH 22. OF THE NAMES, 15 ;INCLUDING MIZANUR RAHMAN'S) WERE COMMON BUT EVEN HERE THE RANK ORDER WAS SUBJECT TO MAJOR DIFFERENCES. RAZZAK ACCOMPANIED HIS LIST WITH A BLAST AT UKIL IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF VIOLATING A COMPROMISE ARRANGEMENT UNDER WHICH UKIL, ZOHRA AND RAZZAK WOULD AGREE JOINTLY ON A LIST WHICH WOULD REPRESENT ALL POINTS OF VIEW WITHIN THE PARTY. WE

ARE UNABLE TO VOUCH FOR THE CREDENTIALS OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF EITHER LIST BUT FROM THOSE WE CAN IDENTIFY, IT APPEARS THAT UKIL SHORTCHANGED THE "LEFTISTS" AND THAT RAZZAK HAS, FROM HIS AND ZOHRA'S POINT OF VIEW, REMEDIED THIS.

3. CONFLICT WITHIN THE PARTY IS ONLY PARTLY BASED ON WHAT IS SIMPLISTICALLY DESCRIBED AS "LEFT" AND "RIGHT" QUARRELS. THESE REVOLVE AROUND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE "SOCIALISM" PILLAR OF MUJIBISM ;NOT OFFICIALLY MODIFIED TO "SOCIAL JUSTICE") SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. MANY OF THE SO-CALLED RIGHT RECOGNIZE THE ECONOMIC DIASTERS WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM MUJIB'S WHOLESAL NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES AND NOW FAVOR CURTAILMENT OF THIS OR EVEN RETURN OF SOME INDUSTRIES TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP. THE LEFT APPEARS OFTEN TO APPROVE UNCRITICALLY ANYTHING MUJIB DID DURING HIS LIFETIME AND WOULD, IF THEY COULD, MOVE THE PARTY TO MORE EXTREME STATIST POSITIONS. ON THIS THE LEFT IS FACED WITH A DILEMMA: CAN IT SUPPORT MUJIB'S INTRODUCTION OF A PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM WITH A SINGLE PARTY RULE? THE OFFICIAL STANCE OF THE PARTY NOW IS UNCLEAR ALTHOUGH THE MODERATE RIGHT WISHES TO RETURN TO THE PRE-BAKSAL AND PRE-FOURTH AMENDMENT PLATFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

4. MISSING FROM BOTH LISTS FOR THE WORKING COMMITTEE IS RETIRED MAJOR GNEERAL KHALILUR RAHMAN, WHO ANNOUNCED HIS ACCESSION TO THE PARTY AT THE COUNCIL MEETING. KHALIL'S CONFIDENTIAL

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JOINING HAD CAUSED SOME CONCERN TO OPPONENTS OF THE AWAMI LEAGUE AND TO GOVERNMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS

NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE DIRECTOR GENERAL HAKIM THOUGHT AT THE TIME THAT KHALIL MIGHT BE BEING GROOMED AS AN OPPONENT OF PRESIDENT ZIA WHEN AND IF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD. HAKIM'S VIEW MAY HAVE BEEN PRE-MATURE FOR LITTLE HAS BEEN HEARD ABOUT KHALIL SINCE HE GOT HIS NAME IN THE NEWSPAPERS THEN.

5. THE AWAMI LEAGUE IS STILL FACED WITH THE MARTIAL LAW REGULATION OF NOVEMBER 28, 1977, WHICH REQUIRES ALL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE TO DECLARE THEIR ASSETS AND HAVE THE DECLARATIONS CLEARED BY THE BDG. THE DATE FOR FILING HAS BEEN EXTENDED FROM MARCH 25 TO MAY 9. AS WE REPORTED AT THE TIME (77 DACCA 6825 AND 77 DACCA 6926) THIS REGULATION IS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY AIMED AT THE AWAMI LEAGUE. LEAGUE MEMBERS HAVE SO FAR REFUSED TO COMPLY. THE EXTENSION MAY BE AIMED AT PROVIDING MORE TIME FOR SOME COMPROMISE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT. OTHERWISE, THE AWAMI LEAGUE WILL FIND THAT MANY OF ITS POTENTIAL CANDIDATES WILL BE INELIGIBLE IN A

FUTURE ELECTION.

6. THE PRO-ZIA POLITICAL GROUPS ARE VIEWING THE FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE AWAMI LEAGUE WITH SOME GLEE. THEY PERCEIVE SOME PROSPECT OF A FORMAL SPLIT WHICH WOULD PERHAPS BRING THE MODERATE RIGHT LED BY MIZANUR RAHMAN INTO ZIA'S PROPOSED POLITICAL FRONT. HAKIM HINTED BROADLY THAT THIS IS A PROSPECT HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE. A MAJOR DIFFICULTY, OF COURSE, WOULD BE THE CONFLICTING SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BY JAGODAL (PRESIDENTIAL) AND THE AWAMI LEAGUE (PARLIAMENTARY). ON THIS THE AWAMI LEAGUE IS JOINED BY ALMOST ALL OTHER POTENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE FRONT.

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7. THE AWAMI LEAGUE NOW MIGHT BE FACED WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF BREAKING UP, BUT THE INERTIAL FORCES OF KEEPING TOGETHER EVEN WHILE CONDEMNING THE OPPOSING FACTION MAY WELL BE SUFFICIENT TO POSTPONE SO DRASTIC A STEP.
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